COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"It is very curious, that the ministers and their dependents, in speaking of the crowds, assembled in the "streets, or elsewhere, sometimes call them *the people of England*, and sometimes *the rabble*, just as it "suits their purpose. When the crowds were assembled to rejoice at the peace of Amiens, and therein to "approve of a measure of the ministers, I was most severely reproved, because I refused to illuminate my "house in compliance with the wish of the people of England; but, *now* that the crowds are assembled to "applaud Sir Francis Burdett, though these crowds consist of the very same persons, they are, by the minis- "ters and their hirelings, contemptuously termed, *the rabble!*"——POLITICAL REGISTER, Sept. 1804.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——The communication having been cut off by the advance of the French towards Berlin, it is probable, that nothing very accurate, relative to events subsequent to the 14th ultimo, will be received previous to the printing of this sheet. It appears, however, that, after the overthrow of that day, the Prussian's were flying in every direction, as if they had taken, for their signal of retreat, that vulgar exclamation, "the devil take the hindmost!" ——No one here can possibly tell what may be the intentions of Napoleon; but, it is to be feared, that, whatever those intentions may be, they will be carried into effect. I should imagine, that, pursuing his hitherto invariable policy, he will re-erect a throne in Poland; and, when he has so done, let Russia beware. She will, as the very least consequence flowing from that measure, be completely shut out from Europe, and be thrown back to where she was fifty years ago.——Yet, with such a prospect clearly visible in the eye of reason, do we still hear some of our writers expressing a hope, nay, an expectation, that the king of Prussia will retrieve his affairs! This infatuation, if it be infatuation and not a desire to deceive others, is not, however, very general. There are few persons, comparatively speaking, who *can* now deceive themselves, or be deceived by others, respecting the state of the continent of Europe. All rational men are now convinced, that there are not, in any of the old governments, the means of self-protection, and that all attemps, on our part, to stem the torrent which is overwhelming them, must be entirely useless as to its object, must be injurious, and may be fatal, to ourselves.—— Those governments have in them the cause of their own destruction, which cause begins to operate the moment an hostile army is known to be approaching. Those governments are like bodies, the existence of which depends upon the exclusion of the air, and which, the moment an aperture is made, crumble into dust.——When, at the outset of this third coalition, some of our political writers (I might say, all the writers in the daily prints) were holding forth great expectations from the loyalty, from the enthusiastic attachment, as they called it, of the army and the people of Prussia to their king, my readers will remember, that I expressed my fears, that, if there were any appearances of such attachment, they were deceitful, and were merely the effect of that influence and power, which, at the same time, stifled all appearances of a contrary description. And, has not the result proved my fears to be well-founded? Where have we seen, in the conduct of either the army or the other subjects of the king of Prussia, a single proof of that loyalty, on which we were bidden to place so firm a reliance? Where have we seen even the slightest mark of that devotion to the king and his family, of the general enthusiasm to rush forward to avenge the insults offered him, of which devotion and enthusiasm, we heard so much, previous to the commencement of the war? No: there are not, and there cannot be, any efficient feelings of this sort where the people have no political liberty. In every state, whatever be the conduct of its ruler or the nature of his authority, there will always be found some men attached to him from motives of gain, and others expressing attachment from motives of fear; but, in neither of those cases can the attachment be denominated *loyalty*, which, to use another term, is *fidelity* to a sovereign, implanted in the heart of the subject by a conviction that the interests and the honour of the sovereign and the honour of the people are inseparably united. Well, then, can this conviction exist, where the people have no will, no voice, in political matters? Where they have no freedom of either action or expression, and no security of enjoyment? In such a state of things, government may talk of the loyalty of the

people; and, in the sunshine of peace and prosperity, such loyalty may make a very pleasing object in a poetical description; but, in the hour of trial, and especially in the hour when an hostile army is approaching, it will always be found awfully deficient ——Yet, it may be asked, how can any people upon the earth expect, that their lot will be *bettered* by becoming the conquered subjects of the French? They, probably, have not, in any case, entertained any such expectation; and, it is also probable that they never have, in any case, reflected much upon the matter. To know that they must *venture their lives* in defending their country against the French, and to feel, at the same time, that they cannot be rendered *worse off* by the conquest of their country, are quite sufficient to prevent them from making any voluntary exertions or sacrifices in its defence. God send that such a feeling may never prevail in England! I hope, and I trust, it never will; for, whenever it does, this hitherto great and glorious kingdom will be but at a small distance from becoming an appendage of the empire of France.

Mr. Windham.——I have too long neglected a duty, which, on public grounds, I ought to have discharged towards this gentleman, but which, though I cannot now discharge it to my satisfaction, I think myself bound to discharge as well as time will permit, seeing that what I have to say may possibly be of some little weight at the present moment.——Before I come to the matter in view, it will not be improper for me to observe, that I have had no communication whatever, verbal or written, directly or indirectly, with Mr. Windham, since about ten days after the formation of the present ministry; and, lest it should be supposed, that this cessation of intercourse, which originated with me, arose from selfish considerations on my part, I beg leave further to add, that, the moment I heard that a new ministry was actually forming, I went to Mr. Windham, and, in the most distinct and decided manner, expressed to him my resolution, never to accept of any place of emolument under the government as long as I lived; a step which I thought necessary, in order to put him and Lord Grenville perfectly at their ease with regard to me.——But, though we have been thus without communication, and though I am not without some grounds of discontent at the cause thereof, I have never, for one moment, ceased to respect and admire him; and the more experience I acquire, the more I see and hear of other public men, the greater are that respect and admiration; and, therefore, I cannot refrain from feeling an uncommon degree of solicitude, that the calumnies which have been aimed at his character, should not, in the contest, in which he is now engaged, and in the result of which his happiness and his fame may possibly be involved, operate to his prejudice, especially when it may be in my power to contribute towards its prevention.——Of the calumnies, to which I allude, the public have seen some pretty ample specimens in certain publications, made by a person of the name of Poole, who was, during the last war, appointed and employed by Mr. Windham as a regimental *Inspector of Foreign Corps* upon the Continent, under Mr. Woodford, who was the General Inspector. To describe fully, and to analyse these publications, and, by that analysis, to demonstrate the falsehood of the charges insinuated in them, is a task that I have imposed on myself to perform, but for the performance of which there is not, at present, a sufficiency of time. I shall only state, therefore, that Mr. Poole came to me, at Parson's Green, last Spring, and that he there made so earnest, and so apparently sincere and honest a representation, that, though I was convinced that Mr. Windham was incapable of an act of peculation, or of conniving at such an act in others, I was led to fear, that some one might have succeeded in imposing upon him in a way and to a degree that might have exposed him, in the minds of persons not well acquainted with his character, to some suspicion of that sort. Some months afterwards Mr. Poole came to me at Botley, making a journey from London for the sole purpose of laying all his manuscript papers before me, and this he did in consequence of a solemn promise from me, that, though my respect for Mr. Windham was as great as it was possible for one man to entertain towards another, yet, if I found him justly accused, whatever might be my sorrow, I would rigorously perform my duty. With all the papers, written and printed, before me, I set myself to a verbal and close examination of this industrious accuser. I noted down his answers to my several questions; I dismissed him with a promise that I would patiently and minutely weigh the whole, and publish the result; and, within these few days, I have told him to his face, that the result of my inquiries is, that all his verbal accusations (for they were many and very unqualified), and all his printed insinuations, against Mr. Woodford as well as against Mr. Windham, were entirely false and groundless; and, that the only fact

clearly proved, was, that *he himself was a peculator*.——This I will, at some future time, prove from the papers in my possession; but, I thought it my duty to make the statement in substance, at this particular time, because Mr. Poole, when at Botley, informed me, amongst other things, that he had convinced several persons in *Norfolk*, of which he is a native, that his *charges*, as he always calls them, against Mr. Windham, were well-founded.——I shall now, for the present, take my leave of the subject, being anxious upon one point only, and that is, lest Mr. Windham should regard this interference of mine as tending to injure his character, by seeming to proceed upon the supposition, that there was, in the whole kingdom, any one who suspected its purity.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.——This contest, whatever may be the issue of it; whether that issue may prove, that the free and unbiassed electors of this great and populous and enlightened city have yet the power to return *one* of its members; or whether the ministers and the great families have, in spite of all exertions against them, the power to return *both* of them; whatever may be the issue of the contest, the history of it must always be interesting to the whole kingdom, and it has become the more necessary to give a true history of it, as the whole of the diurnal press of the metropolis is employed in misrepresenting it, and in distorting the expressions and vilifying the characters of all and every person, who has taken a part on the side of Mr. PAULL.—— The proceedings previous to the day of election were faithfully recorded in the preceding sheet, where the reader will find the principles and grounds upon which the friends of Mr. Paull have acted, clearly and candidly stated in the Resolutions passed by a meeting of his friends at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.——On these principles we stand, on them we make our appeal to the good sense and the judgment of the impartial amongst mankind; and, if we are overpowered, at this time, we confidently trust, that a time will come, when those principles will not only be universally acknowledged to be true and wise, but when they will be acted upon by all those who shall have a voice to give in the returning of members to parliament.——On Monday, the 3d instant, Mr. Paull proceeded from his house to the hustings, in his barouche and four, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, myself, and some other friends; Colonel Bosville in his coach and four following, accompanied by Mr. Burdett, the Rev. Mr. French, and another gentl m n. —— What passed that morning at the hustings having been described, with tolerable impartiality, in a paper called the *British Press*, I shall insert the report from that paper, making such alterations as a close and attentive observation and hearing warrant me in making.

"Upon Mr. PAULL's arrival, he was greeted with the loudest and warmest applause. About ten o'clock, an universal hissing, groaning, and clamorous disapprobation announced the arrival of one of the other candidates, Mr. Sheridan, who no sooner appeared on the hustings, than a cry of "off! "off!" issued from various quarters. A parcel of men, armed with bludgeons, entered at this time amongst the crowd, who did not fail to express great dissatisfaction at such an unseasonable encroachment. Mr. Sheridan attempted to speak, in order to apologise for his delay, but the noise and clamour was so very great, that not a word could be heard.

"SIR SAMUEL HOOD made his appearance, and it was with great difficulty that the hustings, which were by this time (11 o'clock) exceedingly crowded, could be cleared for the gallant Admiral to get forward. This last candidate was attended by Lord William Russell and several naval gentlemen. He was in his full dress naval uniform, and wore all the medals and honourable badges which his meritorious services so justly entitled him to. The want of his arm and his being in the naval dress, seemed instantaneously to recal to the recollection of all present, our much-lamented hero, Lord Nelson. Loud shouts of applause, and marks of esteem seemed to follow the gallant Admiral, till such time as he approached the hustings, when a contrary sentiment seemed to prevail, in the idea of his offering himself as a candidate for Westminster.

"LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL attempted to speak, but the cry of *"Paull! Paull!"* was so very great, that he was obliged to desist.

"Mr. PETER MOORE then came forward, and, after a short preamble, or eulogium upon MR. Sheridan, concluded by proposing that gentleman as a candidate. This motion was seconded by Lord William Russell, who also was proceeding to descant upon the merits of Mr. Sheridan, but was soon completely overpowered by the clamour of the multitude.

"Mr. SHERIDAN next spoke, and had proceeded a considerable length before one single sentence became audible. We understood him at length to be asking the populace, "Gentlemen, I wish to know whether you really want a riot or an election? If you have a good cause, you will conduct your-

selves peaceably; trust in the goodness of your cause, and not in noise and clamour; it is one, which, at least, will bear a fair and impartial discussion."

"MR. PETER MOORE again came forward, and attempted to supply what had been inaudible in the speech of his friend who had last spoken. "Gentlemen," said he, "it is my wish to consult, to the utmost, your interest in proposing Mr. Sheridan to supply the place of that patriotic statesman who is now no more. I have endeavoured to remedy the loss you have experienced in the death of Mr. Fox as much as lies in my power; Mr. Sheridan has been all along his steady friend, and it might truly be said, that it was a struggle which of them should do most for the benefit and advantage of the people in general, as well as that of their constituents in particular. They had each of them studied to promote the general liberty and independence of the people. Mr. Sheridan has, indeed, accepted an office, and I am glad that he has done so.—*(Loud cries of No! No! and marks of disapprobation.)* Offices must be filled by somebody. Is it not better, therefore, that they be filled by such men as Mr. Sheridan, who has proved himself, on all occasions, to be your friend? I am convinced you will be of opinion, therefore, that Mr. Sheridan is the most proper person to represent you in Parliament."

"LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL—I never, Gentlemen, had the honour of addressing you; but I am happy to meet you in support of those principles, which have ever been dearest to my heart. The principles of the gentleman who has been proposed to you, are such as can secure independence and happiness to this country.

"MR. PAULL here called out to the High Bailiff, to order the *bludgeon-men* (who came up with *Mr. Sheridan's* colours) to be disarmed, as they were occasioning considerable tumult and confusion below. The noise which prevailed, prevented the Sheriff from hearing Mr. Paull's observations.—These bludgeon-men, however, becoming somewhat more riotous during the polling, they were completely disarmed by the activity of a Mr. Bird, one of the constables in attendance.

"LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL continued, after repeated interruptions;—"Gentlemen, I shall propose a candidate for your suffrages, whose conduct, I am convinced, will be consistent with those principles I have alluded to: I shall nominate Sir Samuel Hood; a gentleman who is entitled to your approbation and gratitude, as he has fought and bled in defence of our country, and therefore well adapted, in every point of view, to defend your liberties and laws."—This motion was seconded by a MR. DAWES. While Sir Samuel Hood was attempting to speak, some altercation ensued betwixt the friends of Mr. Paull and Mr. Sheridan. Mr. P Moore, addressing himself to Mr. Paull, said, with considerable warmth,, "by God, Sir, if any thing happens, I shall look to you for the consequences," or, "you shall be answerable for the consequences;" to which Mr. Paull answered, that any tumult that existed was by no means occasioned by him or his party. He wished above all things to promote quietness and regularity, but he thought the best way of doing so, would be to remove the men *who had come armed with bludgeons.* He could not approve of such a procedure. His cause stood in need of no such expedient.

"SIR SAMUEL HOOD then said a few words, which could not be heard.

"SIR FRANCIS BURDETT rose, amidst the loudest plaudits that had as yet been testified by the surrounding multitude. The duration of that applause for some time interrupted the Hon. Baronet in the commencement of his speech. Soon afterwards, however, the utmost silence generally prevailed, and we heard him speak as follows:—"Gentlemen, I shall not detain you by animadverting much upon the very unhandsome manner in which the delay (of opening the poll) has been occasioned. It was, no doubt, perfectly unjustifiable and unprecedented; and you, yourselves, will judge of the motives from which it proceeded. As to the gallant Admiral who has been proposed to you this day for the purpose of representing you in Parliament, I shall only observe, that if he came forward to claim your applause and gratitude for his professional merits, if he put in his claim solely for professional honours, I can assure him and his friends that I should be the last man to raise my voice against such undoubted claims. Gentlemen, not to detain you from proceeding to the business of the day, I shall merely shortly state, that it is utterly impossible for the gallant Admiral to be your Representative, or to perform the duties of a Representative in Parliament. Having stated thus much, as to one candidate, I hope it will be deemed almost unnecessary to add, that the other stands also in a situation which renders him an unfit person to be entitled to your suffrages. I shall, however, state it broadly, that the Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy ought not to be elected

your Representative. His acceptance of that office must, in your opinion, disqualify that gentleman. I state this broadly, and I leave it to your own good sense and consideration. This is not the time, however, for discussing questions of a constitutional nature. It is for you to act in these particulars as your own feelings must dictate. I shall not enter further into the merits, demerits, or disqualifications of the two persons who have already been proposed to your notice. The gentleman who, in my opinion, demands your suffrages and support, upon strong constitutional grounds, is a gentleman who now stands near me, I mean Mr. Paull. [*Here the Hon. Baronet was interrupted by loud and reiterated bursts of applause.)* Gentlemen, Mr. Paull's merits are as well known to you as to me. It is therefore left to you to judge, whether inflexible integrity, a determined opposition to alledged public crimes, and an inveterate enmity to peculation and fraud, be qualifications which ought to entitle a person to be returned your Represensative in Parliament, in the present situation of the country? I shall be as short as possible in stating my reasons for supporting that gentlemen, and my objections to the other candidates. It is my opinion, gentlemen, that the dangers of our country originated from the want of such men as Mr Paull to represent the people in the House of Commons. Yet, true it is, that Mr. Paull finds a difficulty thrown in his way, from causes which must be evident to you, to procure a seat in that House, unless he submits to a surrender of that integrity, which, in your eyes, ought undoubtedly to be his chief recommendation for your suffrages. In my estimation, one hundred mercenaries in the House of Commons are much more dangerous than five hundred thousand mercenaries in military array, headed by the Emperor of France, (*Loud applause.*) With these observations, gentlemen, I shall take my leave. I recommend Mr. Paull strongly to the Electors of Westminster, and I trust that they will, on this occasion, come forward and say—"*Paull! Paull! and the City af West-*"*minster!*" I, therefore, take the liberty of nominating Mr. Paull, from a thorough conviction that he, of all others, is the best adapted for your representative; that, as a candidate, he stands alone, and unconnected with any party, and totally devoid of mercenary motives.—— Sir Francis's speech was received, throughout, with the most marked attention.

"Mr. Gibbons said, that after the detail which the electors had just now heard, of the qualifications of the gentleman whom the hon. baronet had proposed, it would be unnecessary for him, in rising to second the proposal, to say more, than that he most cordially agreed with every sentiment which the mover of it had uttered.

"Mr. Paull then presented himself, and addressed the electors as follows:—"Gentlemen electors of Westminster, I certainly, on the present occasion, shall not take up much of your time. We are now about to enter upon the most important of all contests. We are now standing up in defence of the rights of the people of England, against the proscription of an arrogant minister. I will not make any professions to you this day, They have already gone abroad, and, I trust, have been read by many of my friends. I love my King, I love the cause I have espoused, and I love the people of Great Britain. These are the principles upon which I shall act, and thence arises the course which I shall purpose to pursue, if you are pleased to return me your representative. I hope that this day it will be seen, that there is a spirit in the electors of Westminster—that they are not to be bought, sold, nor intimidated from doing their duty. My principles, gentlemen, are the principles of Sir Francis Burdett. He has been calumniated; but I should wish to know what man, who has dared to do his duty, who has not been calumniated. I know the purity of his heart, and his love of the King and the constitution. He is one who has all along wished to bring into practice, that system of representation which has recently existed only in theory. I shall refrain, after what has been already said, from entering into the merits of Sir Samuel Hood, or of the Treasurer of the Navy, and shall only conclude by soliciting your suffrages to return me as your representative.

"Mr. Sheridan again offered himself —"Gentlemen, Sir F. Burdett has told you that 100 mercenaries in the House of Commons, are more dangerous to you than 500,000 mercenaries under Buonaparté. Upon this I wish to observe, and to ask him whether, during any period of 26 years I have been in parliament, he ever knew me to be one of those mercenaries? I put this question to Sir F. Burdett. Does he agree to answer me—Does he mean to say, that for the sake of obtaining a place, I would be one of those mercenaries? Another question too—Will Sir Francis, as a man of honour and of truth, deny, that I was the single man that stood by him upon the question of the prisons? Did I not second him

in his motion for that inquiry? If you elect me; you will elect the man who is warmly attached to your interests, and who will never become the instrument of bartering away or destroying your rights.

"Sir F. BURDETT, in answer to Mr. Sheridan, asked him, whether, since he had been in power, he had ever *proposed to redress* those grievances of which he had complained when out of power?"

At the close of the poll, MR. SHERIDAN made another attempt to speak; but, such was the indignation expressed against him; so loud and so general was the outcry, that it was impossible to hear a word that he said. The incessant reproaches poured forth against him, upon the score of private as well as of public character, particularly by one man, who had placed himself opposite him, and as near to him as possible, did, at last, get the better of his temper; and, he retired from before the people, the first time, perhaps, in his life, in an agony of mortification, and in a rage too violent to admit of concealment.———It is said, by his friends, that he received some personal injury in passing his carriage; and, it seems, that a person has been committed to prison on that account; but, as the public have been duly informed, that he dined and made a long speech, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, that same evening, we shall be inclined to conclude, notwithstanding the advertisement of MR. PETER MOORE, that it has been some other cause than that of *illness*, which has, from the first day to the present time, kept Mr. Sheridan from the hustings.——— Not only has Mr. Paull sedulously discouraged every sort of violence in the people, but he has, agreeably to his first declared intention, set his face against all personal hostility in writing or speaking; nor has he deviated from this path, though he has, particularly by the Morning Chronicle, been attacked with virulence and falshood, unparralleled in all former writings even of political apostates. Previous to the day of election, and while, as yet, the place-hunting whigs had no idea of his popularity, and of the universal contempt into which they had fallen, the Morning Chronicle was very civil; but, the scene of Monday having opened the eyes of Mr. Perry as to these points, the poor man could no longer contain himself. Even the profits of the snug place he has obtained, as the price of his apostacy, were insufficient to console him under the remembrance of the hissings and groanings, with which, on that day, his brother placeman had been received.———After the poll was closed, MR. PAULL, amidst the shouts of the people, was conducted to his carriage; and, as all the daily prints have been *cautiously silent* upon the subject, historical truth requires that I should state, that *his horses were taken from his carriage*, and that he was thus conveyed away to his house amidst the exulting shouts of, perhaps, a hundred thousand of those same "*people of England*," as Mr. Perry called them when they rejoiced at the Peace of Amiens, but whom he *now* denominates a "*despicable rabble*."——The *unbiassed* voice of the people being decidedly in favour of Mr. Paull, *public breakfasts* have on the other side, been resorted to. What may be effected by such means, it is difficult to say; but, it is truly curious and diverting to see those of both INS and OUTS, who hate one another and who hate Mr. Sheridan too, all cordially uniting, and working as it were for the preservation of their lives, to save him upon this occasion, or rather to keep out MR. PAULL; and, in the common acceptation of the phrase, "who can "blame them?" for, the object is to them an object of tremendous importance!

MIDDLESEX ELECTION——Similar motives have produced a similar union against Sir Francis Burdett, who is, with respect to placemen and pensioners and peculators, exactly what a Terrier is with respect to Rats. Their hatred of him; their combining against him; their foul misrepresentations; their envenomed slanders; their ungovernable rage; form an incomparable compliment to his integrity as well as to his talents. They affect to be offended; they would fain make the world believe, that their loyal hearts are boiling at what they represent as an *attack* upon "*the best* "*of Kings*." They well know, the words convey no such meaning, and were intended to convey no such meaning as they have affixed to them; but, Sir Francis Burdett makes a solemn protest against *suffering members of parliament to pocket any part of the money that they vote to be raised upon the people*; he makes a solemn protest *against lavishing the public money upon court sycophants and the useless members of great families*; for this they hate him; for this it is that they endeavour to excite suspicions of his *loyalty*, and to make the nation believe, that he, who has such large possessions at stake, and the desire nearest to whose heart it must be that his children may inherit those possessions after him, has a premeditated design to annihilate that government and all the laws, by which those possessions are protected!——Their cry of *Jacobinism* is the most amusing part of their

conduct. They well know, that MR. HUSKISSON, who was long a *real* Jacobin and a member of the Jacobin Club, was cordially hugged to the breast of the "Heaven-born "minister". They have, in their mutual squabbles, lately stated, that, at the beginning of the French revolution, MR. WINDHAM was a member of the Jacobin Club. It is notorious that REDHEAD YORKE, one of the most vehement of the speakers against Sir Francis Burdett, at Mr. Mellish's meeting, was one of the delegates from the Corresponding Society to the French National Convention. A hundred other instances might be cited; and, it might also be observed, that of *none* of these clubs or societies was Sir Francis Burdett ever a member, and that he never was connected with any of them in any way whatever. Aye, aye! but, all these quondam Jacobins have now proved, that they have *no objection to places and pensions*; no objection whatever *to members of parliament pocketing the public money*; and, provided they are clear of this abominable heresy, all the little sins, such as those which procured Mr. Yorke some years of confinement in jail, admit of absolution upon moderate terms; and, indeed, in some instances, they appear to have been regarded as good works.——Against a sinner like Sir Francis all the members of both parties unite. They curse each other with bell, book, and candle; but, to burn him alive they are ready to make a common pile of all their goods and their garments.—It is said, that MR. PETER MOORE who *proposed* Sir Francis Burdett at the last election, will now *vote* against him; a change which is at once accounted for, when it is known, that MR. PETER MOORE has, ever since the change in the ministry been *soliciting a place!* ——I have not time to say more upon the subject at present; but I shall just insert the two following advertisements as I find them in the newspapers, reserving myself until another opportunity to make a remark or two upon the conduct of the wise and steady MR. BYNG.——I have always hated the *Whigs*; and I should have been disappointed, if they had not turned out as they have.

"SIR,—I should have felt highly flattered by the vote of thanks from the Freeholders assembled at the Crown and Anchor on the 30th of October, for my parliamentaiy conduct, if it had not been accompanied with a proposal to join, what they are pleased to term, my interest with Sir Francis Burdett's. —From the commencement of my canvass (October 20), I have uniformly declared to every Freeholder I had the pleasure of meeting, that I stood alone, unconnected with any other candidate.—The address which afterwards appeared from Sir Francis Burdett, to the Freeholders of Middlesex, certainly gave me no reason to regret the line of conduct I had pursued—but the contrary.—— Your obedient humble servant, G. BYNG.

To Edward Langley, Esq. Chairman at a Meeting of Freeholders assembled at the Crown and Anchor, October 30."

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Freeholders of the Middlesex Club, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Thursday, the 6th November, 1806.

William Bosville, Esq. in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously, That the letter of Mr. Byng, addressed to Mr. Langley, in answer to the Resolutions of this Club, on Thursday last, is an insult to the Freeholders of this County, and a direct violation of his solemn pledge, made to a numerous meeting on the 29th July last, assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the return of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Byng in 1802.

"Resolved unanimously, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to every member of the club who may be absent this evening; and that the same be published in all the newspapers. W. BOSVILLE, Chairman."

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

Well Vale 29th October, 1806.

My dear Baronet!

Your address to a county, and Mr. Paull's to a city, having just reached me, I am desirous of introducing into their company one of my own, to a borough. Mine, you will see, is only provisional, and, in the borough alluded to, may never be circulated. It is in the hands of a friend, either to appear, or not, as the circumstances may require. Had I, on the first intelligence of a dissolution, known the mind of our friend—something of this kind would probably have appeared at the time. If there be any public virtue in Middlesex and Westminster, you and Mr. Paull may expect to succeed. But, should you both fail, I will not, even then, despair of the common wealth. I have a strong persuasion that the conquest of Prussia must precede the stablishment of German freedom. I have a like persuasion, that more calamity and oppression must yet be endured in our own country, ere our constitution will be recovered. But I believe that the liberties of both Germany and England will revive, and be placed on more secure foundations than heretofore. I persuade myself also that the period for either event

is not very distant. A moderate share of virtue in their statesmen might accelerate it in both.

In your address, I think there is a fault. It has a desponding tone; which in my opinion is unworthy of you. While many, by your penetration, your honesty, and indignant warmth, shall be enlightened, animated, and fired with enthusiasm, some, I fear, by this tone, will be chilled, and others shelter their own apathy and inaction under the sanction of your sentiments.

In times like the present, for a man to be qualified for the duties of patriotism, it is perhaps requisite that in the composition of his mind there should be a strong dash of the splenetic. Without this ingredient a parliamentary character may be deficient, and unfit for its task. 'Tis a quality that disposes to a rigorous scrutiny into misgovernment. It keeps awake and vigilant, attention to official vice. It stimulates to reprehension and satire. It displays, and it preserves, public integrity; it is a powerful supporter in the arduous labours of a reformer; and it is a far better security for the continuance of patriotism, than the professions of those who have not in the very constitution of their nature, that which renders them peculiarly hostile to the court sycophant, to the venal senator, and the corrupt placeman. It is, in short, in political character, what discord is in music. It is essential to harmonic energy. But neither in music nor in politics ought the discord to be discernible to the vulgar ear. Keep therefore these discordant tones in due subordination, that you may be the better able to do all the good you so ardently wish.

Your's, sincerely,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

TO THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

Gentlemen,——Understanding it to be the point of honour in a Boston election, for every candidate who stands a poll, to give five guineas a man to all such of the electors who vote for him, and will accept of the money, but thinking such a custom would be more honoured in the breach, than in the observance, I venture, late as it is, to offer my services to represent you in parliament; as I have nothing to fear from losing an election.——My political sentiments being well known to [illegible] on the present occasion be [illegible] but the supposed [illegible] sanctioned as I appre[illegible] by the practice of [illegible] and, demands a few [illegible] reasons thus: my vote is my [illegible] that is my own I may sell: therefore I may sell my vote. That this reasoning, however, is not sound, every elector must know; because he who sells a vote is subject to a penalty of £500; and he who buys a vote, is rendered incapable of sitting in parliament. Nor are these all the ill consequences which may follow an observance of this point of honour.——But in this business there is something far worse than penalties and punishments. Custom and habit reconciles men to strange things. But view a case in which, thank God! custom and habit have not yet seared the consciences of Englishmen, and then judge.—Suppose any of you had a worthy neighbour in full and quiet possession of a competent estate, with a family of virtuous children to inherit it after him. Suppose again, that, another person who had not the slightest pretensions in law or equity, should attempt by a forged will, to rob your honest neighbour of that estate. And suppose further, that when the cause came to be tried, you were upon the jury: would you, as a juryman, for a gift of five guineas, ruin your neighbour and beggar his children? You are shocked, I know, at such a question; and at the very thought of so detestable a crime shudder with horror.——But selling a verdict, and selling a vote, are actions precisely of the same nature. By selling a verdict you may ruin an individual; but by selling a vote, you may ruin your country. In the very last year, a single vote in the House of Commons decided the question, for censuring a minister of state, on a charge of misapplying public money. A single vote of the same House secured to England the Habeas Corpus Act, for our personal freedom against such arbitrary imprisonments, as are the practice under despotic governments. Hence you may judge of the responsibility that lies upon you to give your vote, as you certainly would give your verdict, to those who in your conscience you believe most likely to make, in the great council of the nation, upright guardians of the people's liberties, and firm protectors of their property, and judicious advisers in respect to the safety and the honour of your country in the present crisis; when, towards that safety, and in support of that honour, she is burthened with a taxation far beyond all former experience.—To say more, would be to undervalue your good sense, and to question your wish to act rightly: to say less, would be inconsistent with sincerity, as well as with the hope I trust ever to entertain, of being instrumental towards reforming our elections. By your attention being thus called to an error in reasoning, and a

consequent error in conduct,—an error which, as being common to all our boroughs, is likely to prove the ruin of our country, it is put in your power to set a bright example of public virtue, which might possibly lead to your country's salvation; as the example of an individual soldier is oft the cause of victory to an army; and consequently may be the saving of a nation.——Deputies sent to parliament by the suffrages of a borough acting on so grand a principle, would be most powerfully commissioned and armed and fortified towards repairing the ruins of the representative part of our constitution; a circumstance infinitely more wanting to us than new Colonies in America, or continental alliances, be they ever so wealthy, or ever so potent.——Although, gentlemen, you should approve of what I say, it is not necessary you should accept of my services. You may know persons more intitled to your confidence: or I can, if you wish it, mention to you men more able both in body and mind to do you and their country service; men who, although they may not exceed me in inclination, have more strength, more learning, more knowledge, and more talent, than myself. They are men, gentlemen, whose presence in our House of Commons is as much to be desired, as that of Nelsons in our navy, or Stuarts in our army; and yet against whom, by the unhappy evil on which I have touched, the doors of parliament are effectually barred; while they are thrown invitingly open to every son of rapine and violence, and to every unprincipled betrayer of his country, who, at a general election, drives into a borough town properly prepared for stabbing the constitution.——One word more on the subject of voting! A vote, as I have shewn, is not of the nature of a chattel, that we can legally or morally sell, or can give away, for any private gain or gratification whatever; but is a sacred right held in trust to be exercised only for the good of our country. Here again, I must remind ye, that a vote at an election, is what a verdict is on a jury. As we are bound to give this, for the sole ends of private justice, so we are equally bound to give that, for the sole ends of public justice. In one case, we are sworn to give our verdict, without favour or affection, according to the evidence; and in the other case we are sworn that, for giving our vote we have neither directly nor indirectly received, nor have the promise or expectation of any reward. And is not this equivalent to swearing, that, in giving our vote we are solely guided by a sense of public justice, and without favour or affection, prefer the men most entitled to preference; or, in other words, to our verdict, according to the evidence before us?—Before we enter a jury box, we may have formed our opinion of the cause, and, if I may use the expression, we may have promised our verdict to him who in our judgment has justice on his side. But such a promise is of course conditional; for if it turn out that justice be clearly on the side of his adversary in the suit, we are then bound to give our verdict for that adversary. Our promise in fact was to do our duty and to administer justice, and, when given, we were under an error in respect to the party entitled to it. It is precisely the same in elections. We can only promise to perform our duty, and to do justice in disposing of our vote.—A person engaged in a law suit, or his counsel for him, publicly canvasses the jury, and solicits their verdict, but only on this condition, that it shall appear in evidence he is entitled to it. It is the same at an election. Whether expressed or not, the condition upon which a candidate solicits a vote, is that, on a comparison of the evidence for and against him, he shall be entitled to it; for he who says "promise me your vote, although on the "day of election you should be convinced "my competitor is more likely to make a "wise and upright member of parliament "than myself," proclaims himself both fool and knave; and insults the elector, by considering him in the same light.——It has been in order to guard you against imposition and error that I have reasoned upon what I conceive to be the nature of election promises. God forbid I should wish you to violate any engagement sanctioned by justice and by duty. If an elector cannot at the same time keep a hasty promise to an individual, and fulfil a sacred duty to his country, it must in such a dilemma, be left to his own feelings and conscience how to act.——I remain, gentlemen, your obedient servant.—JOHN CARTWRIGHT.——*Boston, Oct.* 31, 1806.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

——Sic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.
Hor. Epist l. 2. Ep. II.

Sir;—I am led to trouble you again on the subject of Mr. Sheridan, by two statements which were delivered on the first day of the election for Westminster; one by his friend Mr. Moore, and the other by himself.—Mr. Moore, adverting to the objection which had been taken against the Treasurer of the Navy as an official dependent on the the crown, maintained, that to introduce Mr. Fox and his party into that

situation, had been the object of the Electors of Westminster during twenty-six years. How far this is true, I leave to the electors of Westminter to determine: some of them perhaps may be gratified by the avowal, that they have been considered, during that long period, as the tools of a party in its pursuit of place. The nation has been willing to suppose, that their support of Mr. Fox, was an independent struggle to give effect to his declared principles; that their purpose was not narrowed to the mere question how the treasury bench should be occupied, but was directed generally to the practical adoption of his national sentiments, whoever might be in power. If his possession of office would accomplish this purpose, then this would certainly be included in their designs; but always, beyond doubt, as the means, not as the end: and if his possession of office should be found, after all his professions, to involve no approach to such accomplishment, then we cannot imagine that it will appear to them any triumph, if it do not even move their resentment. It will excite some surprise, I believe, generally, that Mr. Fox's appointment to the post of Secretary of State, is considered as the ultimate attainment of their object; and I know that the public disclosure of this opinion, has excited in Westminster no small degree of disgust. Merely to see Mr. Fox in office, and to remain unconcerned about the measures which his official appointment might produce, is a description of the views of Westminster, the least adapted, I should have conceived, to be accepted by that city as a compliment, and to recommend to its favour the candidate for whom the description is published.—But the statement of Mr. Sheridan himself will suffice to convince us, whatever may be the state of things with respect to Mr. Fox or his party in general, that as far as Mr. Sheridan personally is concerned, there is no real connection between his appointment to power and the practical adoption of the measures which he has demanded. It having been objected against this candidate, that since his establishment in office, he has effected none of those reforms in the Cold Bath Fields prison, for which he clamoured when in opposition, his reply is, that though he is Treasurer of the Navy he is not a minister, and consequently has not the power to effect them.—It will be observed that there is no question here, if there ever could have been any among reflecting men, concerning the propriety of the complaints which were raised with respect to this prison. Mr. Sheridan avows that he supported them, and makes it a part of his merit with the electors; and that he has not since effected any thing in the affair he *excuses* by the plea of wanting power: professing, at the same time, that, if he had possessed power, the reforms should have been accomplished. He thus declares publicly at least his own feelings of their justice, and acknowledges that in his own mind it is a part of his duty, if he can, to succeed in the purpose.—It appears then, upon the acknowledgement of Mr. Sheridan himself, that his introduction into office has given him no power of effecting those, in his own opinion just, objects to which he directed his efforts while in opposition. We have gained therefore nothing of efficacy by the change. But what have we not lost? While Mr. Sheridan was on the opposition bench, if we had not the reform, we had at least some tendency that way in his exertions in favour of it: he delivered speeches, he at least seconded motions, he was active in assisting enquiry. But since he has crossed the house, and sits on the same bench with ministers, their near associate if not a minister himself, no observation on the subject has passed his lips; no motion, no zeal, or the smallest manifestation of any regard to it in any degree, has marked his official career. Having accepted a place which, as he declares, gives us no addition to his power, he has taken care that it shall fully deprive us of all the advantage of his former efforts: his eloquence is silent and his activity exhausted.—Upon this subject this is the distinct declaration of Mr. Sheridan. Upon other subjects his conduct has been similar. His India enquiries, and all the affairs to which his speeches and motions while in opposition were directed with zeal, have now sunk into oblivion, and are buried beneath the weight of official occupations. What were formerly the objects of indignant reprobation, and were not to be endured for a single session, are now quietly tolerated with the meekness of devoted obedience. He has not power, it appears, to influence any thing from his ministerial associates, but they are all-powerful to influence every thing from him. Whatever the cause of this submission, whether the influence of place or the influence of Carleton house, it is clearly not the influence of the people, and can in no manner belong to their faithful representative. Even his old patron, Mr. Fox, was disgusted by his conduct. In the valuable letter of Mr. Paull inserted in one of your late Registers, the secretary of state is represented to have declared, "It has been sig-

"gested to us" (the ministers) "to with-
"draw, or to keep away, when the discus-
"sions upon this subject are to come on;
"and *some of us have been inclined to do so;*
"but, for my part, I cannot and will not
"do that." Who is referred to in this expression of disdain, the history of the last session of parliament informs us. Mr. Sheridan was almost a total absentee. The open opposition of Mr. Fox against the enquiry into the conduct of Marquis Wellesley excited vehement censure; but whatever the line of conduct pursued by that statesman, it was always bold and so far manly: he loathed the meanness of an abject dependent. —That Mr. Sheridan's declaration is a gross misstatement, I am not willing to suppose. The Treasurer of the Navy may have little power in directing the general measures of administration, but he retains at least the power of choosing his parliamentary conduct. If this be not the fact, I cannot admire the preference of Mr. Sheridan, who was represented, at the time of forming the present administration, to have had free liberty in selecting his place. But if Mr. Sheridan has not the power to say decisively "this shall be," he can at least declare that, if this be not, he is no longer the associate of ministry: if the discharge of what he confesses to be his duty, would thus involve the loss of his treasurership, he possesses surely the power of losing it. This is undoubtedly left him, to choose between his duty and his office. To descend to a post which conveys no power of effecting the measures in which he involved his honour, and, in order to preserve this useless post, to consent to renounce even the pursuit of those measures, is a degradation of conduct not common, I hope, in public men, and which I should little have expected any of them to publish with his own mouth.—I have no personal enmity against Mr. Sheridan; I have no desire to see him absent from the house of commons as an independent member: but if his presence there tend only to sanction what he has repeatedly censured, and by desertion to assist in preventing what he acknowledges to be a part of his duty, I cannot but consider him one of the men least proper to be elected. If the people of England do not now, in their electorial character, express their abhorrence of such conduct, they may be certain that the situation of a representative of the people will cease to have any connection with their interests. It will be sought merely for private convenience, and as an introduction to the ministry.—Mr. Sheridan has stated that "he "believes he shall not have a single vote that "can be influenced by the Duke of Nor-"thumberland." I rejoice to hear this. It is the just punishment of that unmanly conduct which was lately deaf to the general call of Westminster inviting him to relieve the city from a most unworthy successor to Mr. Fox. Mr. Sheridan denies all compromise with Lord Percy. What he considers to be a compromise he must himself explain; but we all know that when the seat was fully in his power, he voluntarily delivered over the electors, completely fettered, to the house of Northumberland. If that house itself now manifests its disdain of his unmanliness, no independent character can fail to be gratified. The punishment is appropriate: it is inflicted in the proper scene, and from one of the most proper quarters.—The rejection of Mr. Sheridan, on this occasion, I cannot esteem less than a great national concern. It will deliver a warning to our representatives which they will feel beyond every other. It will prove to them that the renunciation of public duty for private purposes will not be secured from indignation and punishment by even conspicuous talents; and that the only certain advantage acquirable in parliament is derived from independence and the faithful discharge of the representative trust. Nothing can be better adapted to conform their conduct to the line of their duty. If, on the other hand, the clear and even avowed dereliction of parliamentary objects be not publicly punished by the constituents of parliament, the period cannot be distant when the parliament in general shall have descended to the level of the ancient Paris register of ministerial edicts. The consequences that must ensue, France herself has abundantly informed us, in ages of misery and a deluge of blood.——BRUTUS, *5th November*, 1806.

TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF HAMPSHIRE, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE DIVISION AND HUNDRED OF PORTSEA AND PORTSDOWN.

GENTLEMEN,——Upon no other pretension than merely that of a fellow-countryman, indignant at the attempt that has been made to deprive you of the real use of your franchise as individual freeholders, and of your respectability as the inhabitants of a county, do I presume to address you.——It is well known to you, gentlemen; it is, indeed, the doctrine, to maintain which the best blood of our fathers has been shed, that, to be represented in Parliament, by men sent thither by our own free choice, is our birthright as Englishmen; and I beg leave to remind you, that, at the opening of every ses-

sion of parliament, the House of Commons declare, by solemn resolution, "That it is "highly criminal in any minister, or ministers, or other servants under the Crown "of Great Britain, directly or indirectly, to "use the powers of office in the election of "Representatives to serve in Parliament, "and an attempt at such influence will at "all times be resented by this House, as "aimed as its own honour, dignity, and independency, as an infringement of the "dearest rights of every subject throughout "the empire, and as tending to sap the basis of this free and happy constitution."—Yet, Gentlemen, in the face of this solemn declaration, in defiance of the letter as well as the spirit of this constitution, Lord Temple, a servant of the Crown, receiving four thousand pounds a year, and his family receiving not less than fifty-four thousand pounds a year out of the public money, has dared to make an attempt, in the manner described even in his own letter, to exercise his power and influence in the election of representatives for your county. How far the persons holding offices under government, in and near the dock-yards; how far, in the same vicinage, some clergymen and magistrates, dependent upon the ministers; how far those persons have, in a manner the most unwarrantable, used their influence and power for the purpose of inducing the freeholders, by threats as well as promises, to vote for the ministerial candidates, contrary to their wishes as well as to their consciences; how far this has been the case, you need not be told; but the freeholders, against whose independence attempts of this sort have been made, must be destitute of foresight as well as of honour, were they to suffer themselves to be influenced by any such threats or promises, seeing that the power of the present ministers, and that of all officers appointed by them, can scarcely be of a twelvemonth's duration, and seeing that, deservedly unpopular as the far greater part of them already are, they would not venture to punish any man for having followed the dictates of his own conscience, and thereby render themselves so odious and detestable in the eyes of all honest men, and rouse such a spirit of resentment against them, as would, in spite of all their means of protection, drive them in disgrace from their power and their emoluments. Nothing, then, have the freeholders in the vicinity of the dock-yards to hope or to fear from the persons in place under this divided, this short-lived, this already-expiring ministry; and, as to the magistrates, those publicans and others who are weak enough to fear their menacing hints, have only to consider, that any man who shall dare to use his magisterial authority for the purpose of depriving a voter of the free use of his franchise, is liable to the severest animadversion of that law, which it is his duty to see righteously enforced, and of which he has himself been the scandalous violator.—Thus, gentlemen, with the path of independence and of honour straight before you, and with no temptation to deviate therefrom, it surely is not to be feared, that you will prefer the path of dependance and disgrace. The attack made upon your rights is as unparalleled as it is daring. True and notorious it is, that undue influence; not to say direct ministerial controul, has long unhappily been exercised in but too many of the boroughs of the kingdom; but, to make a direct and open attempt to force members upon a county, and thereby in reality to deprive the freeholders of their franchises, was reserved for the present day and for a ministry composed, in a great part, of men, who, when out of place, most solemnly pledged themselves never to cease their exertions to procure us a Parliamentary Reform. Similar to the motives, by which, upon the present occasion, you, gentlemen, ought to be, and I trust, will be, actuated, are the motives which now actuate the free and independent Electors of Westminster, who, seeing Mr. Paull, like Mr. Chute, proscribed as the price of his integrity, have taken him under their protection, have generously and wisely resolved to defeat the machinations of his enemies, and thereby to establish the valuable truth, that those members of parliament who dare to discharge their duty, will, in spite of all combinations against them, receive the approbation and support of this, the most populous, the most industrious, and the most enlightened city in the kingdom.—With such motives of action, and with so noble an example before you, it would be grossly to calumniate your characters to suppose, that you will send, as your representatives persons *forced upon you*, and thereby proclaiming to the world with your own voice, calling God to witness the act, that you are destitute of all public spirit, that you have nothing of freedom but the name, that you have sentiments of neither loyalty nor liberty remaining in your breasts, that you have effaced from your memory all the glorious maxims and deeds of your fathers, and are sunk into the voluntary slaves of an arrogant faction, not less hostile to the real interests of the king than they are to the rights and privileges of his loyal and faithful people.——Anticipating, then, that our county, distinguished as it is by the favours of na-

ture; famed as it always has been for good sense, for manhood, for public spirit, and for loyalty; and being, as it now is, regarded as one of the bulwarks against the menacing foe, will still be found worthy of its ancient character, will, by your conduct, be rendered an object of universal admiration, the humble individual, who has now taken the liberty to address you, confidently trusts, that it will be his pride and not his shame, to be a Freeholder of Hampshire.——With these sentiments, and with an anxious hope, that every single man of you sacrificing all trifling differences and selfish feelings to great principles and to the general good, will regard the cause of Mr. Chute and Sir Harry Mildmay as his own cause, and will devote his hand and heart to it accordingly,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your faithful and humble Servant,

W. COBBETT.

Westminster, Nov. 4, 1806.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

PRUSSIA.——*Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia to the Army. Dated Head Quarters at Erfurt, October 9, 1806.*

All the efforts of his Majesty and of his allies for the maintenance of peace have been unavailing; and unless the whole northern part of Germany, nay, even perhaps all Europe, be abandoned to the will of an ever-restless enemy and his devastating armies, war is inevitable.——His Majesty has resolved upon war, as the honour and security of his states are in danger. He should have considered himself fortunate, had he been able to maintain these in a peaceable way; this is known to the army, to the nation, nay, even to the world; but, with the greatest confidence, will he now lead his army to the combat for his country and the national honour; for justice is on our side.——It has not escaped the observation of his Majesty, that the army long wished for war, and though he was prevented by circumstances, of which he alone could be a proper judge, from acquiescing before in this desire, he, nevertheless, respected it, convinced that it could have arisen from nothing but the genuine love of honour and of the country, which the army has so eminently displayed. The whole nation has already proved what a lively interest it takes in this war; and it affords great satisfaction to his Majesty, that the measures he has adopted are not only unavoidable, but are the unanimous wish of all his subjects.——His Majesty is convinced that the preservation of the national honour and glory, which the genius of Frederick diffused among all the Prussians, would be sufficient to inspire the army with its natural bravery, and with the willing endurance of all the hardships inseparable from war; but this war has other and more important objects.——We have to cope with an enemy who has defeated, around us, the most numerous armies; who has humbled the most powerful states; who has destroyed the most venerable constitutions; who has deprived more than one nation of its independence and of its name.—A similar fate was intended for the Prussian monarchy. Numerous armies collected around its frontiers, and were daily augmenting. That monarchy too was doomed soon to disappear, to be subjected to a foreign master, and arrogance and rapacity already anticipated the partition of the North of Germany.—We fight then for independence, for our altars, for our homes, nay, for every thing that is dear to us; and if the Almighty grants victory to our just cause, to our arms, and to the courage that animates the bosom of every Prussian, we may become the saviours of thousands of oppressed creatures. There is certainly no man in the army, from the highest officer to the private soldier, whose heart can remain cold under such circumstances. Every warrior who falls in this conflict, will die for the sacred cause of humanity. Every warrior who survives it, besides obtaining immortal glory, will share the gratitude, the triumph, and the tears of joy of his rescued country. ——Who among us could endure the idea of being subjected to the arbitrary will of a foreigner? But, at the same time that we are fighting in our own behalf, that we are averting from ourselves the most abject degradation that can menace a nation; we are also the saviours and deliverers of our German brethren. The eyes of the world are fixed upon us, as the last support of all liberty, of all independence, and of all order in Europe. The victory to which we aspire, is no common victory. Important are its objects, and mighty are the means of the enemy, intoxicated with conquest; great, energetic, and decisive, must also be our exertions.——His Majesty will with pleasure share these exertions, dangers, and fatigues, with his troops. He knows what he has to expect from his fellow soldiers. He knows that unwearied promptitude, that indefatigable vigilance, and undaunted perseverance, can never for a moment forsake his brave army, and that, under every circumstance, they will bear in mind their important destination.——The fate of nations and of armies is in the hands of God; but he scarcely ever grants constant victory and per-

manent prosperity but to the cause of justice. This is with us; confidence in a good cause is with us; and the voice of our contemporaries is on our side. The happiest success will crown our enterprizes ——*Head-quarters at Erfurt, Oct.* 9, 1806.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*From the French Official Paper the Moniteur. Dated Paris, Oct.* 16, 1806.

On the 14th, at noon, in execution of the orders of his Majesty the Emperor, the Prince Arch Chancellor repaired to the Senate, where, being received with the usual ceremonies, and having taken his seat, his highness addressed the senate as follows:—By the letter which his Majesty the Emperor and King has written to the senate, and the communications which I am about to make from him, it is meant that you should be made acquainted with a resolution that became necessary, in consequence of the conduct of the Prussian government.——It may be asked, what are the causes of a rupture so unexpected, after the good understanding which, for several years, prevailed between France and Prussia? This question is explained in the reports made to his Majesty, by his Minister for Foreign Relations, and in several notes exchanged between the ministers of both powers."

After a few introductory observations of a general nature, his highness then laid before the senate, 1. A Letter from the Emperor to the president and members of the senate.—2. Two Reports addressed to the Emperor and King, by the Prince de Benevento, Minister of Foreign Relations.—3. Six Diplomatic Notes.

Letter from his Majesty the Emperor.

Senators,——We quitted our capital for the purpose of repairing to our army in Germany the moment we learned with certainty that its flanks were threatened by unexpected movements. Scarcely had we arrived at the frontiers of our states, when we had reason to perceive how necessary our presence was there, and to applaud ourselves for the defensive measures we had taken, previously to our departure from the centre of our empire. Already the Prussian armies in an attitude of war, were every where in motion. They had passed their frontiers, Saxony was taken possession of; and the wise Prince who ruled that country was forced to act, against his will, against the interests of his people. The Prussians had come up before the cantonments of our troops. Provocations of every kind, and even acts of violence had marked the spirit of hatred by which our enemies were actuated, and the moderation of our soldiers—who, tranquil while they beheld all these movements, only astonished at receiving no order—rested on that double confidence which inspires courage and a sense of justice. Our first duty was to cross the Rhine ourselves, to form our camps, and to send forth the shout of war. It resounded in the hearts of all our warriors. Marches, combined and rapid, carried them in an instant to the place we had pointed out to them. All our camps are formed: we are about to march against the Prussian armies, and repel force by force. We must at all times declare, that our heart is sensibly affected by that continued preponderance which the genius of evil upholds in Europe, which is incessantly employed in counteracting the designs we are forming for the tranquillity of Europe, for the repose and happiness of the present generation; which attacks all cabinets, by all kinds of seduction, and misleads those it cannot corrupt, making them blind to their own interests; and throwing them into the midst of parties, without any other guide than the passions with which it inspired them. The cabinet of Berlin itself has not chosen with deliberation the side it takes. It has been induced to do so by artifice and malicious contrivance. The king finds himself suddenly an hundred leagues from his capital, on the frontiers of the confederation of the Rhine, in the midst of his army, and in front of the French troops, who were dispersed through their cantonments, and who thought they had a right to depend on the ties which united the two states, and on the protestations made on all occasions by the Court of Berlin. In a war so just, in which we only call forth the armies in our own defence, which we have not provoked by any act, by any pretension, and of which it would be impossible for us to assign the true cause, we reckon entirely on the support of the laws, and on that of our people, who are called on by the present circumstances to give new proof of their love, their devotion, and their courage. On our part, no personal sacrifice will be painful to us, no danger will stop us, whenever it will be necessary to maintain the rights, the honour, and the prosperity of our people.—Given at our Imperial Head-quarters, at Bamberg, the 7th of October, 1806.

(Signed) NAPOLEON. By the Emperor. The Minister and Secretary of State,

(Signed) H. B. MARET.

Note of M. De Knoblesdorff, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sept. 12, 1806.

The undersigned, feeling how much it

is of the first importance to answer immediately the note which his Excellency the Prince of Benevento, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has done him the honour of addressing to him this evening, feels himself compelled to limit himself to the representation of the following observations. The motives which have engaged the king, my master, to make armaments, have been the effect of a scheme of the enemies of France and Prussia; who, jealous of the intimacy which exists between these two powers, have done every thing in their power to alarm, by false reports, coming at once from every quarter. But, above all, what proves the spirit of this measure is, that his Majesty has concerted it with no person whatsoever, and that the intelligence respecting it arrived sooner at Paris, than at Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and London. But the king, my master, has ordered to be made to the Envoy of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, an amicable communication on the subject of these measures. That minister had not yet returned an answer upon this communication. The relation of the interesting conversations that his Imperial Majesty has deigned to entertain with the undersigned, and the Marquis de Lucchesini, could not yet have arrived at Berlin. After this explanation, the undersigned can only testify to his excellency his most ardent wish, that public acts may yet rest suspended, till the return of the courier dispatched to Berlin.

Second Report, addressed to his Majesty the Emperor and King, by the Minister of Foreign Relations, Oct. 6, 1806.

Sire,——When in the report that a few days back I had the honour to address to your Majesty, I established, that if Prussia had any personal reasons which led her to make war, it could only be from a desire to enslave Saxony, and the HanseaticTowns, I was far from perceiving, that she would ever dare avow such a motive. It is, nevertheless, an avowal which she has not feared to make, and to express in a note that M. De Knoblesdorf has sent me from Metz, and which I have the honour to address to your Majesty. Of the three demands which that note contains, the first and the third are only made to disguise, if it be possible, that no real importance may be attached to the second.—Prussia, after having seen with a tranquil eye the French armies in Germany during a year, could not be alarmed at their presence when their numbers were diminished—when they were dispersed in small bodies in distant cantonments—when, above all, your Majesty had solemnly announced, that they should return to France as soon as the affair of Cattaro, the cause of the prolongation of their stay in Germany, should be settled by an agreement with Austria, and that already the order for their return was given —Prussia, who speaks of a negociation to fix all the interests in question, knows well that there is no point of interest whatever in question between the two states; the amicable discussion which should definitively fix the fate of the Abbeys of Essen and Werden, has not been deferred by any delay of the French cabinet. The French troops have evacuated those territories, which the Grand Duke of Berg had caused to be occupied, in the perfect persuasion that numerous documents had given him, that they made part of the Duchy of Cleves, and that they were comprehended in the cession of that Duchy.—Thus the demands of Prussia, on these different points, and others of the same nature, and the pretended grievances which she seems to indicate, do not offer the real mind of the Cabinet of Berlin. It does not reveal it. It lets its secrets escape only, when it demands that no farther obstacles whatever shall be made, on the part of France, to the formation of the Northern league, which shall embrace, without any exception, all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.——Thus, to satisfy the most unjust ambition, Prussia consents to break the bonds that united her to France, to call down new calamities upon the Continent, of which your Majesty would wish to cicatrize the wounds, and to assure the tranquillity, to provoke a faithful ally, to put him under the cruel necessity of repelling force by force and once more to snatch his army from the repose which he aspires to make it enjoy, after so many fatigues and triumphs.—I say it with grief, I lose the hope of the ability to preserve peace, from the moment it is made to depend upon conditions that equity and honour equally oppose; proposed as they are, in a tone, and in forms that the French people endured in no time, and from no power, and which it can less than ever endure under your Majesty's reign. (Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, &c. *Muyence, Oct. 6, 1806.*

First Bulletin of the Grand Army. Bamberg Oct. 8, 1806.

The peace with Russia, concluded and signed on the 20th of July, and the negociations with England, which were drawing towards a conclusion, caused a sensible alarm at Berlin. The vague reports which were daily multiplying, and the consciousness of

the injurious conduct of that cabinet towards those powers, induced it the more readily to believe what had been insinuated, that by a secret article in the treaty with Russia, Poland was to be restored as a kingdom, and conferred upon the Grand Duke Constantine; that Silesia was to be given to Austria in exchange for her part of Poland; and that Hanover was to be restored to England. Thus it appeared to believe that these three powers were leagued with France, and that such a union would be highly injurious to Prussia.——The injurious conduct of Prussia towards France commenced at a very distant period. First, she took up arms with a view of profitting by the internal disorders of France. She was seen ready to come forward at the moment of the invasion of Holland by the Duke of York; and notwithstanding the events of the last war, although she had no cause of complaint against France she took up arms again, and signed, the 1st of October, 1805, the famous treaty of Potsdam, which was, in less than a month, superseded by the treaty of Vienna.—Towards Russia she acted injuriously. Who can forget the non-execution of the treaty of Potsdam, or the subsequent conclusion of that of Vienna?——Her injurious conduct towards the Emperor of Germany, and the whole Germanic Body, is more aggravated, and of longer date, as is generally known. She always acted in opposition to the diet. When the empire was at war, she took care to be at peace with its enemies. Her treaties with Austria were never faithfully executed: she uniformly studied to embroil other powers, in the view of gaining some advantage, at the expense of either or of both the contending parties.——Those who suppose, that such an interested versatility of conduct was solely to be attributed to the reigning sovereign, are greatly mistaken. During an interval of fifteen years, the Court of Berlin has been a kind of stage, upon which different parties tried their strength, and in their turns obtained the ascendancy. On one day the decision was for war: on another for peace. The last important political circumstance—the slightest incident—often gave the advantage to one of the parties; and the king in the midst of these opposing councils, in a very labyrinth of intrigue, was fickle and undecided, with the greatest intentional rectitude.—On the 11th of August, a messenger of the Marquis Lucchesini arrived at Berlin, and delivered, in the most positive terms, an assurance of those supposed armaments which France and Russia had agreed upon by the treaty of the 20th July.—To restore the kingdom of Poland, and to wrest Silesia from the Prussian Monarch. The partizans of war were enraged, the king was overawed by them, his personal sentiments were unattended to; forty couriers were dispatched from Berlin in one night, and an appeal to arms was instantly decided.——The intelligence of this sudden explosion was received at Paris on the 20th of the same month. It was lamentable to perceive an ally so grossly deceived. Full explanations, and precise assurances of the real case, were immediately communicated; and as manifest error was the sole motive for these armaments, the hope was expressed, that mature consideration would obviate such an unexpected result.—However, the treaty signed at Paris was not ratified at St. Petersburg; and communications and intelligence of various kinds were speedily forwarded to Prussia. The Marquis de Lucchesini was not slow in forwarding his observations; these were collected from among persons of the most suspicious character in the capital, and suggested by men of intrigue, with whom he habitually associated. In consequence, he was recalled, and the Baron De Knobelsdorff, a man of frank and open character, and of unimpeached integrity, was appointed to succeed him.——This envoy extraordinary arrived shortly at Paris. He was the bearer of a letter from the King of Prussia, dated 23d August.—This letter, couched in the most friendly terms, and fraught with pacific professions, was answered by the Emperor in an unreserved and appropriate manner.—The day following that of the departure of the courier with this answer, accounts were received, that airs and songs, of the most hostile and inflammatory nature, against France, were sung in the Theatre at Berlin; that immediately after the departure of M. de Knobelsdorff, the armaments proceeded on a more extensive scale—that men hitherto cool and dispassionate, were heated in consequence of false reports—and that the war faction had prevailed to such a degree, that the King himself could not resist the torrent.——It was afterwards known at Paris, that the advocates for peace in Prussia had really been alarmed in consequence of the most audacious falsehoods and deceitful appearances, and that they had totally lost their influence; while the war faction, taking advantage of their errors and despondency, redoubled their exertions, alleged provocation on provocation, and accumulated insults; so that things were brought to such a point that war became inevitable.—The Emperor was then convinced, that circumstances would oblige him to take up arms against an ally. He therefore ordered preparation.

To be Continued.

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